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A WEST GERMAN PERSPECTIVE OF U. S. POLITICS AND CULTURE

Report No. 232
May 7, 1956

RESEARCH STAFF
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
AMERICAN EMBASSY

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The present report is based upon a survey of present knowledge and conceptions on U.S. politics and culture. The purpose of the study was to gather views about America as seen through West German eyes and to provide some clues for the guidance of the U.S.I.S. information program in Germany.

Since the U.S.I.S. program in Germany naturally wishes to be effective and successful in its efforts to explain America and its ideals to the German public, a definite and detailed knowledge of existing conceptions and misconceptions about the U.S. becomes imperative.

This study was designed to make this necessary information available to the U.S.I.S. policy officials in order to guide particular projects in the right direction and help them to achieve the U.S.I.S. objectives as closely as possible.

The first part of the report is concerned with the American political system and consists of three sections (a) comparative knowledge, (b) views of American democracy and (c) some foreign policy reaction. In the second chapter conceptions of American culture are presented in a broad sense including 1) cultural and educational achievements, 2) the Negro problem, and 3) some data on acceptability of common criticisms of Americans as people. Part three of the study deals with common aims and points of contact between Germany and the United States in the spheres of politics, culture, economy and personal life.

The survey was conducted between March 20th and March 29th, 1956. The findings are based upon a 1,210 case probability sample in West Germany and a 306 case sample in West Berlin representative of the adult population 18 years of age and older.

As usual, interviewing was conducted under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey research organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

In order to simplify presentation of results, all groupbreaks and detailed comments given in response to open-end questions have been published in a separate appendix. The appendix will be furnished all interested readers upon request.

S U M M A R Y

West German judgment of the American political scene is a favorable one. Their knowledge of basic political facts in the U.S., however, can only be considered fair. For example, while a majority knew that Washington was the capital of the U.S., less than four-tenths knew that the next presidential election would be held this Fall. When asked to define "Democracy" the concepts of personal freedom and justice, as well as control of the government by the people are most often mentioned as essential ingredients.

The United States is judged to be the country where democracy is best realized in daily life. It wins this honor by more than three to one over England and by more than four to one over the Federal Republic. France is most often considered to be in last place in this regard.

While most West Germans are willing to agree that the individual has more influence on political developments in the United States than is the case in Germany, that public opinion in the U.S. exerts a stronger influence on political decisions, and that the press in America has greater freedom than is the case in Germany, more of them think that the average German participates more actively in political life than is true for the average American.

The majority is satisfied with American foreign policy towards Western Germany. Large majorities are aware that the U.S. favors German remilitarization as well as West European integration.

Knowledge of American cultural and educational attainments is even lower than was found concerning American political events. Only one person out of five was able to mention any outstanding American achievement in the cultural sector. While the U.S. educational level was underestimated, the German educational level was overestimated. The American school system is recognized as different from the German system mainly in respect to the organizational set-up, and school spirit - and by and large the differences are approved. There is a realization that American schools tend to emphasize preparation for practical life whereas German schools emphasize the attainment of a high educational level. Whether despite this realization, or because of it, the great majority would prefer that the German schools would follow the American lead and give students preparation for the life ahead of them.

There is high awareness of the racial question which exists in the U.S. However, less than half of the West German population considers the U.S. racial question a difficult problem; and only less than a third feels that it seriously harms American prestige in Germany. While a preponderance believes that the U.S. government is making serious efforts to solve the problem, a clear majority feels that little or no essential progress has been made so far.

In respect to common aims and points of contact between Germany and America, clear majorities reported such common aims in the fields of politics and economics. The cultural area was mentioned least often.

I. The American Political System

Since the beginning of the US information program in Germany, the American political system was one of the major themes of the American information efforts. The task of explaining American democracy and its ideals to the German audience was not easy in view of German history from 1933 to 1945 and the immediate post-war situation with low living standard and occupational pressures. Views concerning America and its political system and cultural achievements were heavily prejudiced at that time and could hardly have been investigated under stable conditions. Only now after the constitutional and governmental situation have been stabilized for some years and a sovereign political status has been achieved, the German perspective seems rather firmly established.

The reader should be reminded, however, that the US political system is too complex to permit examination of every detail with a mass survey approach and therefore he should not expect more than clues on the most important aspects of the political system in the United States.

Section 1: Comparative knowledge

Before the actual views and conceptions about America's political setup are analyzed, data on existing knowledge about some basic political facts will be reported. To establish a relevant frame of reference, most of the knowledge questions about the United States were also put about the equivalent German items and therefore will be presented together.

CLEAR MAJORITY KNO.. CAPITAL OF UNITED STATES ...

Almost six out of ten in West Germany (73% in West Berlin) could name Washington as the capital of the United States. Most of the wrong answers gave New York city.

As might be expected 90% or more in West Germany and West Berlin knew that Bonn is the capital of the Federal Republic.

"Can you tell me what is the capital of the United States, the seat of government?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Right (Washington)	58%	73%
Wrong	24	20
Don't know	18	7
	100%	100%

"Can you tell me what is the capital of the West German Federal Republic?"

Right (Bonn)	90%	95%
Wrong	6	3
Don't know	4	2
	100%	100%

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER WELL KNOWN ...

The great bulk of all respondents (83% in West Germany and 91% in West Berlin) were able to identify General Eisenhower as President of the United States.

While in West Germany 14% more know Adenauer than could name Eisenhower as head of state, both statesmen are correctly identified in West Berlin by an almost equal proportion of more than 90%.

"Can you tell me the name of the President of the United States of America?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Right (Eisenhower)	83%	91%
Wrong	3	3
Don't know	14	6
	100%	100%

"Can you tell me the name of the present German Chancellor?"

Right (Adenauer)	97%	93%
Wrong	1	5
Don't know	2	2
	100%	100%

MORE THAN A QUARTER KNOW NAME OF U.S. PARLIAMENT ...

Somewhat more than one-fourth of the respondents indicated knowledge of the right names of the U.S. parliamentary setup.

More than twice as many, however, could give the correct name of the German equivalent - Bundestag or Bundesrat.

"Can you tell me what the parliament of the United States is called?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Right (Senate and/or House of Representatives and/or Congress	28%	26%
Wrong	10	17
Don't know	62	57
	100%	100%

"Do you know what the legislative body, the parliament, of the Federal Republic is called?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Right (Bundestag and/or Bundesrat)	62%	61%
Wrong	5	8
Don't know	33	31
	100%	100%

FOUR OUT OF TEN WEST GERMANS KNOW WHEN NEXT U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WILL BE HELD ...

A rather appreciable group of people in West Germany exhibited knowledge of the year and month when the next presidential elections will be held in America (39%). Only 12% more knew when the next Bundestag elections in West Germany are due. The West Berliners were even better informed about the time of the next U.S. election than about the next German election.

"Can you tell me when the next presidential elections will take place in the United States?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Right (In November 1956)	39%	48%
Wrong	17	28
Don't know	44	24
	100%	100%

"Can you tell me when the next elections for the Bundestag in West Germany will be held?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Right (In the Fall of 1957)	51%	42%
Wrong	16	21
Don't know	33	37
	100%	100%

CORRECT KNOWLEDGE ABOUT GERMANY TOPS KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE UNITED STATES BY TWO TO ONE ...

The previous four questions on the United States and their equivalents on Germany are in fact indices of some factual knowledge about the American political scene. Tabulations of knowledge about the United States and knowledge about the same facts in Germany reveal that correct information about the United States (in all four instances) is exhibited by only 18% as against 41% for Germany.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AMERICA

"Can you tell me what is the capital of the United States, the seat of government?" (Washington)

"Can you tell me the name of the President of the United States of America?" (Eisenhower)

"Can you tell me what the parliament of the United States is called?" (Senate and/or House of Representatives and/or Congress)

"Can you tell me when the next presidential elections will take place in the United States?" (In November 1956)

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT GERMANY

"Can you tell me what is the capital of the West German Federal Republic?" (Bonn)

"Can you tell me the name of the present German Chancellor?" (Adenauer)

"Do you know what the legislative body, the parliament, of the Federal Republic is called?" (Bundestag and/or Bundesrat)

"Can you tell me when the next elections for the Bundestag in West Germany will be held?" (In the Fall of 1957)

	West Germany	
	Knowledge about America (1210)	Knowledge about Germany (1210)
Correct knowledge in all 4 cases	18%	41%
Correct knowledge in 3 cases	21	29
Correct knowledge in 2 cases	24	22
Correct knowledge in 1 case only	23	6
No knowledge at all	14	2
	100%	100%

A further analysis utilizing a cross-tabulation of the knowledge indices with another question asking for the sources of information the respondents chiefly draw on to learn about the United States is presented below. Here it may be seen that people relying on U.S. media as their main source of information about America, indicate the highest percentage of correct knowledge about the United States. Almost all (96%) of those claiming to learn more about American through contact with U.S. media have at least some knowledge about basic political facts in the United States. This figure decreases significantly among the other groups of contact with different information sources.

"Considering everything, which source of information do you chiefly draw on to learn about the U.S.?"

Main Sources of Information about the U.S.

Respondents who claim to learn most about the U.S.

Knowledge about the United States:	Through U.S. media (347)		Through contact with Americans or German visitors to America, but no use of U.S. media (217)		Through use of German media only (562)		Use no media (84)	
Correct knowledge in all four cases	33%		14%		13%		2%	
Correct knowledge in three cases	28	96%	29	89%	17	81%	2	49%
Correct knowledge in two cases	22		24		26		12	
Correct knowledge in one case only	13		22		25		33	
No knowledge at all	4		11		19		51	
	100%		100%		100%		100%	

OPINION LEADING GROUPS SCORE HIGHEST ...

As one might expect, population sub-group comparisons reveal that the men, the better educated, the higher income brackets and the upper-class people have considerably greater knowledge of political facts in the United States than can be found among their counterpart groups.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AMERICA

"Can you tell me what is the capital of the United States, the seat of government?" (Washington)

"Can you tell me the name of the President of the United States?" (Eisenhower)

"Can you tell me what the parliament of the United States is called?" (Senate and/or House of Representatives and/or Congress)

"Can you tell me when the next presidential elections will take place in the United States?" (In November 1956)

	Correct knowledge in all 4 cases	Correct knowledge in 3 cases	Correct knowledge in 2 cases	Correct knowledge in 1 case only	No knowledge at all	No. of cases
Total West Germany:	18%	21%	24%	23%	14%...100%	1210
Sex:						
Men	27	28	24	16	5	526
Women	12	16	24	28	20	684
Education:						
Elementary school	13	19	26	26	16	998
Beyond elementary	44	33	14	8	1	212
Income:						
Up to 149 DM	11	13	22	31	23	141
150 to 299 DM	13	16	25	30	16	262
300 to 399 DM	15	25	21	24	15	289
400 to 499 DM	18	24	26	23	9	171
500 DM and more	33	27	26	9	5	255
No answer	17	21	20	23	19	92
Opinion Leadership Scale:@						
Very active	27	21	29	18	5	73
Somewhat active	25	27	22	17	9	336
Remainder	15	19	24	26	16	801
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper classes	54	32	7	5	2	56
Upper middle classes	30	30	24	10	6	308
Lower middle classes	13	19	26	27	15	695
Lower classes	5	10	21	35	29	151
Age:						
18 to 24 years	20	15	25	27	13	138
25 to 34 years	18	23	26	21	12	255
35 to 44 years	19	26	24	19	12	224
45 to 54 years	18	22	24	24	12	279
55 years and over	17	19	23	24	17	314

(Cont'd on next page)

@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Correct knowledge in all 4 cases	Correct knowledge in 3 cases	Correct knowledge in 2 cases	Correct knowledge in 1 case only	No knowledge at all	No. of cases
Party Preference:						
SPD	16%	23%	25%	27%	9%...100%	285
CDU/CSU	20	22	24	20	14	35[illegible]
FDP	39	27	16	15	3	[illegible]2
Other parties	20	17	23	28	12	[illegible]9
No party	17	20	24	25	14	220
No opinion/ No answer	14	20	24	21	21	22[illegible]
Occupation:						
Professionals	46	39	11	-	4	2
Businessmen	32	30	21	11	6	71
White-collar workers	38	35	14	11	2	12[illegible]
Skilled laborers	19	32	33	12	4	14[illegible]
Semi-skilled laborers	18	15	28	24	15	137
Domestic service	20	17	26	23	14	35
Farmers; farmhands	10	20	21	34	15	97
Housewives	9	15	25	29	22	409
Pensioners; retired	15	19	24	27	15	146
Students; apprentices	43	24	14	14	5	21
Religion:						
Catholics	18	20	26	22	14	569
Protestants	18	22	22	24	14	585
Others	9	27	23	27	14	22
No religion	38	21	32	6	3	34
Origin:						
Natives	18	22	24	23	13	961
Expellees; refugees	18	21	23	24	14	249
City Size:						
Up to 1,999	12	16	23	27	22	415
2,000 to 24,999	20	23	26	20	11	320
25,000 to 99,999	21	23	21	24	11	142
100,000 and more	24	25	24	19	8	333
Land:						
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	20	22	28	22	8	125
Lower Saxony	16	23	17	25	19	192
North Rhine/ Westphalia	19	23	25	21	12	303
Hesse	27	23	18	21	11	105
Rhineland/ Palatinate	22	18	22	28	10	60
Baden/Wuerttemberg	16	23	31	20	10	157
Bavaria	16	18	25	24	17	268

FOUR IN TEN ABLE TO NAME THE LARGE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES ...

In West Germany 29% could give the name of both the Republican and the Democratic party in the United States. Another 10% were able to name at least one of the two parties. In West Berlin people seem to be better informed since almost half of them either know both names (33%) or one of the two parties (15%).

"Can you tell me what the large political parties in the U.S. are called?"

	West Germany (1210)		West Berlin (306)	
Republicans and Democrats	29%		33%	
Republicans	5	39%	7	48%
Democrats	5		8	
Other parties (Which?)	2		3	
Don't know	60		50	
	101%@		101%@	

SIZEABLE AWARENESS THAT PEOPLE VOTE FOR CANDIDATES RATHER THAN PARTIES ...

When the West German respondents were asked whether in American Congressional elections the people cast their votes for a political party or for a candidate almost four out of ten people (38%) replied "for a candidate," while 16% said for a party, and 37% didn't know. As previously found West Berlin had a much higher awareness that votes go to the candidate in the official election procedures. A great majority (60%) gave the correct answer.

"In electing the U.S. Congress - which corresponds to our Bundestag here - do voters cast their votes for a political party, or for a candidate?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Party	16%	17%
Candidate	38	60
Both	9	9
Don't know	37	14
	100%	100%

The 9% (in West Germany and West Berlin) who answered "both" cannot be considered right or wrong, since both the name of the candidate and the party appear on the ballot. Sophisticated respondents with profound knowledge of the United States voting procedures might have considered this in answering the above question. On the other hand, there is presumably a certain proportion among the 9% who replied on the basis of pure guess work that the procedure must differ with the various elections.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONE-FOURTH ... WEST GERMANS AWARE OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS ON LEGISLATION ...

One quarter (25%) of the West German adult population and almost half (49%) of the West Berliners seem to be aware of the fact that the U.S. Congress cannot simply pass any law it pleases.

"In your opinion, is the U.S. Congress free to pass any law it pleases, or not?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Yes	29%	32%
No	25	49
Don't know	46	19
	100%	100%

The freedom which the U.S. Congress enjoys in its legislative actions is confined by a number of constitutional provisions such as the presidential veto, Constitutional prohibitions and judicial review. Many of the answers given to the subsequent open-end inquiry focus on these conditions.

Summary Table **

"In your opinion, is the U.S. Congress free to pass any law it pleases, or not?

IF "No":
"What stops the U.S. Congress from doing so?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
A. THE EXECUTIVE	(8%)	(19%)
The President (power to veto a bill)	8%	17%
Cabinet members (must be consulted)	*	1
The individual states (must approve of the bill)	*	1
B. THE LEGISLATURE	(4%)	(7%)
The House of Representative (approval required)	1	2
The Senate (approval required)	2	4
The delegates (must be consulted)	1	1
C. THE JUDICIARY	(1%)	(4%)
The Supreme Court	*	1
Constitution and laws	1	3
D. OTHER INFLUENCES	(10%)	(20%)
The individual political parties (must be heard)	2	6
Public opinion (can exert pressure)	3	6
Other authorities acting as a counterpoise (name not known)	3	6
Other answers	2	2
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(3%)	(1%)
	26%@	51%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.
** See final paragraph of introduction.

ONLY SMALL MINORITY BELIEVE THAT CERTAIN GROUPS ARE BARRED FROM THE POLLS IN THE UNITED STATES ...

The question of whether or not all citizens in the United States on reaching a certain age are entitled to vote, while strictly speaking a matter of knowledge, borders on conception since profound knowledge of the U.S. election laws as well as of existing circumstances might lead to sophisticated interpretations from the side of the respondent. The XV. Amendment of the Constitution says that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Nevertheless, there are such things as the poll tax and the literacy test as administered in various states. These state laws, are not ostensibly directed against any particular group, but against individuals. It is known, however, that their application in certain states produces discriminatory practices with the effect that certain groups of the population are actually barred from the polls.

In response to the question 39% of the West Germans and 52% in West Berlin think that on reaching a certain age all citizens are entitled to vote, while 45% have no opinion in West Germany (24% in West Berlin).

The 16% who feel that some groups are not entitled to vote (24% in West Berlin) think mostly of the Negroes and other colored people.

"Are all inhabitants of the U.S. on reaching a certain age entitled to vote, or are certain groups of the population barred from the polls?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
All are entitled to vote	39%	52%
Certain groups are barred from the polls	16	24
No opinion	45	24
	100%	100%

IF "Certain groups are barred from the polls":
"What groups are these?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Negroes:	7%	16%

"The Negroes certainly are barred from the polls."
"Negroes are not entitled to vote."
"Negroes are not allowed to go to the polls."

Felons:	3	4

"All previously convicted."
"All felons."
"Prisoners."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	West Germany	West Berlin
Immigrants:	2%	3%
"The recently arrived immigrants." "Those immigrants who haven't got American citizenship yet."		
Juveniles:	2	1
"Juveniles under 18." "Only those Americans are entitled to vote who have reached a certain age."		
Colored people:	1	1
"The coloreds." "Those who belong to some other race than the white are not allowed to go to the polls."		
Negroes in certain states of the United States:	*	2
"The Negroes in some American states are excluded from voting." "As far as I know in some states the Negroes are barred from the polls, it surely is the case in the South."		
Other answers:	2	2
"The inmates of cloisters." "The Communists." "Military forces."		
No opinion/No answer:	1	1
	18%@	30%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Section 2: Views of American Democracy

In order to study German views and attitudes of the U.S. democracy, it is necessary to learn something about the present West German concept of democracy as such. In other words, what do people in West Germany associate with the term "democracy" and what do they understand by it.

MOST PEOPLE DEFINED DEMOCRACY AS "FREEDOM AND JUSTICE" AND PEOPLE'S CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT ...

In a completely open question asking for their understanding of the word democracy, the right of the individual to express his opinion freely, government by the people and personal freedom in general are the most frequently recorded answers. In general then it may be said that the people in West Germany and West Berlin have a fairly good understanding of the Western concept of democracy. Only a minority of the total population gave "no opinion" to the question or replied in such terms as offered the possibility of incorrect understanding of "democracy". Most of the replies carry a clearly favorable connotation while only one in a hundred in both West Germany and West Berlin gave unmistakably negative comments such as "democracy means duping the public and selling the small people down the river", or "freedom is a good thing in a way but man can only be ruled with the whip", etc.

"Please tell me what you understand by the word 'democracy'?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
FREEDOM AND JUSTICE	(49%)	(69%)
Free expression of opinion	22	30
Personal freedom	19	28
Social justice, equality of rights for all	8	11
CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE	(33%)	(32%)
Government by the people	22	21
Election of the government by the people	11	11
FORM OF GOVERNMENT	(7%)	(9%)
No dictatorship	4	5
A multi-party system	2	4
A governmental system	1	-
MISCELLANEOUS	(4%)	(11%)
Financial security and prosperity for the individual	1	5
Not the form of government realized in West Germany	1	3
The form of government realized in West Germany	1	1
Living in peace	*	1
Democracy means independence	1	1
OTHER ANSWERS	(3%)	(7%)
NEGATIVE COMMENTS ON DEMOCRACY	(1%)	(1%)
NO OPINION	(22%)	(13%)
	119%@	142%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PREPONDERANCE FEELS DEMOCRACY REALIZED MOST IN THE UNITED STATES ...

In the following question respondents were asked to compare four nations of the Western camp and judge in which of the countries has democracy been realized most in everyday life. America tops the others by far with 45% in first place. England and West Germany come second receiving approximately the same proportion of votes in 1st and 2nd choice. It seems that France is held in rather low esteem with respect to realization of democracy in its own country since almost a third place France last.

In West Berlin the pattern of replies is roughly the same with the minor exception that England clearly comes before West Germany, when first and second choices are combined.

"Of course, none of the following countries is a dictatorship nor is any of them a perfect democracy. But - as far as you can judge - in which of these countries has democracy been realized most in everyday life? (CARD) And which country is in second place? And which in last place?"

	West Germany			West Berlin		
	First place	Second place	Last place	First place	Second place	Last place
England	14%	20%	15%	24%	28%	14%
France	3	6	31	3	5	57
America	45	20	2	55	26	2
West Germany	11	23	19	12	32	16
No opinion	27	31	33	6	9	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GOOD SIDES OF U.S. DEMOCRACY OUTWEIGH BAD SIDES ...

Opinions concerning the good and bad sides in the American democracy were asked of the West German population. In comparing the amount of reported good and bad sides of the American democracy, it appears that significantly more respondents were able to think of good sides than could describe the reverse side of the coin. This was even more so the case in West Berlin.

"From all you have heard or read about it, what, in your opinion, are the good sides, or strong points, of the American democracy such as appear in everyday life?"
"And what, in your opinion, are the bad sides, or weak points, of the American democracy as are revealed in everyday life?"

	Good sides or strong points		Bad sides or weak points	
	West Germany	West Berlin	West Germany	West Berlin
Mention such points	44%	72%	29%	50%
Say there are no such points	-	-	4	11
No opinion	56	28	67	39
	100%	100%	100%	100%

While no one said there are no good sides 4% in West Germany and 11% in West Berlin hold the view that there are no weak points in the American democracy.

FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL LEADS AMONG GOOD SIDES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY ...

A variety of answers were received in response to the question asking for the good sides or strong points of the American democracy as revealed in everyday life. However, most of the replies from the opinionated respondents focus on the individual citizen (and concern his personal freedom, his influence on political life, and his education toward democracy) as well as point at the good sides found in the American economy (by quoting the high standard of living, the good job opportunities, and the free enterprise system).

> "From all you have heard or read about it, what, in your opinion, are the good sides, or strong points, of the American democracy such as appear in everyday life?"

Summary Table

Points in relation to ...	West Germany	West Berlin
THE INDIVIDUAL	(20%)	(33%)
The freedom the individual enjoys	16%	25%
The influence the individual has on political life	2	4
The absence of class distinction	1	3
The education towards democracy	1	1
U.S. ECONOMY	(18%)	(45%)
The high standard of living	8	20
The good job opportunities	3	15
The free enterprise system	3	6
The affluence of the Americans	2	1
The position of the unions in the US	1	2
The low tax rates	1	1
INTERNAL POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION	(4%)	(6%)
The Two-Party system	2	2
The position of the President	1	1
The friendly accord between government and people	1	1
The unbureaucratic administration	*	2
FOREIGN POLICY	(4%)	(12%)
The readiness to help other nations	4	11
The striving for peace and international understanding	*	1
MISCELLANEOUS	(5%)	(5%)
NO OPINION	(56%)	(28%)
	107%@	129%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

VARIETY OF CRITICISM OFFERED ON U.S. DEMOCRACY ...

In regard to the bad sides of the American democracy, the replies concern internal affairs most frequently (25% for West Germany, and 46% for West Berlin). Here the unsatisfactory social conditions including an inadequate social security system, are mentioned most often.

The bad sides of foreign affairs (3% West Germans and 6% West Berliners) and negative characteristics of the Americans (also 3% and 6%) appear least often among the major categories of criticism.

"And what, in your opinion, are the bad sides, or weak points, of the American democracy as are revealed in everyday life?"

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
BAD SIDES OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS	(25%)	(46%)
The inadequate social security system	5%	10%
The unsolved racial problem	4	14
The overly liberal education and its negative consequences	3	7
The unsatisfactory social conditions (excluding social security)	3	4
The negative influence of capitalism	3	4
Totalitarian trends	1	2
The politically inadequate Two-Party system	1	1
Too many people share in a decision	1	1
The exaggerated propaganda	1	*
The overly strong influence of the unions	1	-
Other negative trends in internal affairs	2	3
BAD SIDES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS	(3%)	(6%)
Arrogance and intolerance shown towards other countries	1%	2%
Meddling in the affairs of other nations (imperialism)	1	1
The American attitude towards Germany	*	1
Other negative trends in foreign affairs	1	2
NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICANS	(3%)	(6%)
The negative traits of character of the Americans	2%	3%
Distribution of low-quality entertainment media	*	2
Other negative trends	1	1
THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY HAS NO BAD SIDES	(4%)	(11%)
NO OPINION	(67%)	(39%)
	102%@	108%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The following pages present the results of a number of questions comparing West Germany and the United States in respect to various conceptions of political circumstances in both countries.

TENDENCY TO THINK THE INDIVIDUAL HAS MORE POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE UNITED STATES THAN IN GERMANY ...

In the subsequent query respondents were asked to compare the potential influence of the individual on political developments in West Germany and in the U.S. One quarter (27%) of the West German population saw greater possibilities in this respect in America and 16% in West Germany. Equal possibilities in both countries were seen by 27%.

In West Berlin a considerably greater proportion (46%) attributes greater political influence to the individual in the United States.

"Where do you think the individual has more possibilities to exert an influence on political developments: In West Germany or in America?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
In Germany	16%	18%
In America	27	46
Equal possibilities in both countries	27	26
Qualified answers	2	1
No opinion	28	9
	100%	100%

YET MORE BELIEVE THE AVERAGE GERMAN PARTICIPATES MORE ACTIVELY IN POLITICAL LIFE ...

People in West Germany and in West Berlin seem to believe that the average German citizen displays a keener interest in political life than the average American. Almost one third of the population holds this view as against 27% choosing the average American as participating more actively in politics. About one-fifth think the situation is the same in both countries.

This is a rather interesting finding since it remains the only instance in the series of inquiries comparing the German scene with the American one where Germany is rated higher than the U.S.

"Let's consider the average American as compared with the average German: Who, as a rule, displays a keener interest and participates more actively in political life?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
American	27%	33%
German	32	42
Both the same	19	18
No opinion	22	7
	100%	100%

PUBLIC OPINION HAS STRONGER POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE UNITED STATES ...

When asked where public opinion exerts a stronger influence on the political decisions of the country, almost three times as many (31%) choose the U.S. rather than Germany (11%). In West Berlin a majority (54%) expressed the opinion that public opinion is a stronger factor in the United States.

"Where do you believe public opinion exerts a stronger influence on the political decisions of the country: In West Germany or in the United States?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
In West Germany	11%	13%
In the United States	31	54
Influence the same in both countries	30	24
No opinion	28	9
	100%	100%

MAJORITY AGREES AMERICA IS THE COUNTRY OF GREATEST PERSONAL FREEDOM ...

The concept of personal freedom is closely connected with democracy in the Western sense. This has been revealed already by previous analysis, where the freedom of the individual and his rights in the society were emphasized by the respondents, whenever they were asked to give their reasons for a particular viewpoint in connection with the American political system.

A question had been designed to get at the reasons why people thought that the U.S. is the country where the individual enjoys the greatest personal freedom. This fact was assumed in a statement and accepted by 52% of the West German population and almost three quarters of the West Berliners (73%). Those people in agreement with the statement were then given a card containing several reasons and asked to pick the one, which in their opinion, is mainly responsible for the situation described in the statement.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND THE AMERICAN CHARACTER TWO MAIN REASONS FOR GREAT FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES ...

Among the reasons presented, the economic prosperity and the economic independence of the individual American was given priority. The American character took second place - mentioned by sizeable groups of West Germans and West Berliners.

"America is always spoken of as the country where the individual enjoys the greatest personal freedom. Do you agree with this or don't you?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Agree	52%	73%
Don't agree	24	24
No opinion	24	3
	100%	100%

IF "Agree":
"Which of the reasons enumerated here is chiefly responsible for that?" (CARD)

	West Germany		West Berlin	
A - The economic prosperity and the economic independence of the individual American	21%	40%	26%	36%
B - The American education system's emphasis on personal liberties and rights	7	13	11	15
C - The American character. Americans have a distinct sense for personal freedom and know how to further it	13	26	20	28
D - General legislation which insures a large measure of personal freedom for the individual	8	15	14	19
Other factors (Which?)	1	1	*	*
No opinion	2	5	2	2
	52% =	100%	73% =	100%

MORE THAN ONE THIRD CONSIDER FREEDOM OF THE PRESS GREATER IN AMERICA ...

The last comparison of conditions in Germany and in the United States discussed the freedom of press in both countries. Again more than three times as many (more than five times as many in West Berlin) gave their choice to the U.S. rather than to the Federal Republic.

"In your opinion, in which country does the press enjoy greater freedom: In the Federal Republic or in the United States?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
In the Federal Republic	10%	9%
In the United States	35	55
In both equally great	26	25
In both equally little	3	2
No opinion	26	9
	100%	100%

Section 3: Some reactions to Foreign Policy

Relevant to these views and conceptions of the U.S. political system are basic reactions to the American foreign policy towards West Germany as well as opinions concerning the position the United States takes on major political issues which are important to the West German population.

MAJORITY SUPPORTS AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS WEST GERMANY ...

After a steady increase in satisfaction with U.S. foreign policy in respect to Germany since 1952, support for the U.S. policy in general seems to have reached its peak. Almost three-fifth (58%) of the total population in West Germany and even more in West Berlin (79%) express their satisfaction with American policy. No appreciable change in attitude is noticeable since April 1955.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with American policy towards Western Germany?"

	West Germany				West Berlin
	June 52 (1595)	Nov 52 (400)	Apr 55 (1269)	Mar 56 (1210)	Mar 56 (306)
Satisfied	39%	43%	61%	58%	79%
Dissatisfied	10	15	5	7	5
Neither/nor	34	24	17	20	11
No opinion	17	18	17	15	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

MOST PEOPLE AWARE OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT ...

The bulk of the total population indicates awareness that America is fundamentally for remilitarization of West Germany. Only a negligible 3% in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin think the United States is against West German rearmament.

"And do you know whether America is fundamentally more for or more against our remilitarization?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
More for it	83%	92%
More against it	3	3
No opinion	14	5
	100%	100%

MUTUAL ADVANTAGES LEADING REASON FOR U.S. SUPPORT OF WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT ...

Providing protection against the advance of Communism is the most frequent single reason advanced as to why America supports West German rearmament. Since the West German stand on Communism is clearly "anti", the mutual benefit for both countries is evident enough. In West Germany, while the responses which by inference provide advantages for both America and Germany (47%) top the category which indicates merely advantages for America only by a slight margin 45%, in West Berlin more than twice as many see mutual benefits for both countries (89%) as see only advantages for the United States.(41%).

"And do you know whether America is fundamentally more for or more against our remilitarization?"

IF "More for it":
"And for what reasons does America, in your opinion, support our remilitarization?"

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
ADVANTAGES FOR BOTH AMERICA AND GERMANY	(47%)	(89%)
To provide protection against the advance of Communism	34%	64%
To make Germany powerful enough to take its defense in its own hands	5	16
To strengthen the West	5	7
America wants world peace	2	2
Other advantages for America and Germany	1	*
ADVANTAGES FOR AMERICA	(45%)	(41%)
America wants German support in case of war	18	17
America wants to spare its own forces at our expense	8	7
Germany is a reliable partner with good soldiers	7	10
America wants to profit by German remilitarization	7	3
America wants to safeguard its own position	3	3
Other advantages for America	2	1
ADVANTAGES FOR GERMANY	(1%)	(3%)
Advantages in the political field	1	3
OTHER ANSWERS	(1%)	(*%)
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(3%)	(2%)
	97%@	135%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GREAT MAJORITY ALSO AWARE UNITED STATES FAVORS WEST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION ...

Whether America is for West European integration or not was another question West Germans were asked. Large majorities replied in the affirmative (72%in West Germany and 90% in West Berlin), thus revealing a high degree of awareness of America's stand on one of its major objectives in world politics.

"Can you tell me whether America is more for or more against West European integration?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
More for it	72%	90%
More against it	6	3
No opinion	22	7
	100%	100%

Among the reasons advanced why the United States is supporting European integration, political motivation predominates (55% in West Germany and 86% in West Berlin). The largest single answer group points out that a United Europe would be a bulwark against Communism (35% and 54% respectively).

Economic reasons are reported by only 11% (16% in West Berlin) and focus largely on the economic profits America would derive from European integration. Very few respondents speak in terms of purely military reasons.

"Can you tell me whether America is more for or more against West European integration?"

IF "More for it":
"For what reasons does America, in your opinion, support West European integration?"

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
FOR POLITICAL REASONS	(55%)	(86%)
Because a united Europe represents a bulwark against Communism	35%	54%
Because a united Europe increases the power of the West thus promoting the safety of America	9	10
Because America wants peace in the world	6	13
Because America wants to further the cause of freedom and democracy in Europe	1	2
Other political reasons	4	7
FOR ECONOMIC REASONS	(11%)	(16%)
Because America could derive economic profits from European unification	5	7
Because America wants to strengthen the economies of the West European countries	2	6
To protect American investments	1	1
Other economic reasons	3	2
FOR MILITARY REASONS	(3%)	(4%)
Because America needs soldiers (particularly German soldiers) and military bases in Western Europe	3%	4%
FOR OTHER REASONS	(5%)	(3%)
Because America expects advantages from West European unification	2%	1%
Other reasons	3	2
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(6%)	(3%)
	80%@	112%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. American Culture

In the context of the present report culture is defined in a rather broad sense of the word. It includes, as the different sections of this chapter indicate, not only cultural and educational achievements but also the Negro problem which - often called "the American dilemna" - certainly represents an important phenomenon in the American culture. Section 3 of this chapter even deals with unfavorable stereotypes about America and the Americans. It can be maintained that such personal characteristics are the results of environmental influences, i.e. the social and cultural milieu of a country. Therefore German acceptability of these common criticisms represents a direct judgment of Americans and an indirect judgment of American culture.

The reader should be aware, however, that in the context of the present study no comprehensive approach concerning all the important aspects of American culture was possible. Nevertheless, this chapter does present a few clues concerning some features of U.S. culture which are of particular importance on the German scene.

Section 1: Cultural and educational achievements

The extent to which people in Germany are aware of outstanding American achievements in the cultural sector is the first general approach in this section.

ONE OUT OF FIVE PEOPLE ABLE TO NAME AMERICAN CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS ...

A bare fifth of the West German population (but twice as many in West Berlin) seem to be aware of outstanding U.S. cultural achievements. This indicates a great amount of ignorance in a field which is of particular importance in the German mind. Since in the assumptive world of the Germans the national pride about a very high cultural level of their own constitutes an essential ingredient, this feeling will always be an influential frame of reference for the German judgment about other nations.

"Could you name any particularly outstanding American achievement in the cultural sector?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Yes	19%	42%
No	53	40
No opinion	28	18
	100%	100%

ARTS AND SCIENCE AS OUTSTANDING CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE U.S. ...

The question asking for specific examples mainly produced vague answers. Only a few could describe specific cultural achievements in the United States.

While in West Germany Arts occupies first place in frequency of response, examples in the field of science and technology are most often mentioned in West Berlin.

"Could you name any particularly outstanding American achievements in the cultural sector?"

IF "Yes":
"What are you thinking of?"

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
ARTS	(8%)	(8%)
The film sector	3%	4%
The field of music	2	2
The field of literature	2	2
Other arts	1	-
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY	(6%)	(20%)
The field of medicine	2	7
The field of nuclear science	2	6
America's willingness to promote science and technology	1	2
Other achievements in the fields of science and technology	1	5
AMERICAN AID TO GERMANY	(4%)	(15%)
a. Cultural Assistance:		
The establishment of information centers	1	8
American-sponsored exchange programs	*	1
Other cultural assistance to Germany	*	1
b. Economic Aid:		
American economic aid to the Federal Republic	3	5
OTHER CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS	(2%)	(3%)
Achievements in the field of education	1	2
The cultivation and settlement of the country, the creation of National Parks	1	1
SPECIAL ACHIEVEMENTS	(2%)	(7%)
American aid to distressed areas	1	3
Other answers	1	4
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(1%) 23%@	(*%) 53%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL UNDERESTIMATED ...

Respondents were asked to estimate the percentage of the overall population in the U.S. having attended senior high school and the percentage having attended college. The most frequent answer centered around 20% for high school attendance (between 11% and 30%). Since, according to the latest available information (current population reports of the Bureau of Census), 45% of the present U.S. population have attended high school this indicates a considerable underestimation by the Germans. The correct estimate was given only by 5% (12% in West Berlin).

In regard to college attendance in the United States, the most frequent estimates were around 10% (between 6% and 20%). This comes much closer to the correct figure of roughly 14% of the U.S. population having ever studied at college.

In other words, 44% of the West Germans and 57% of the West Berliners clearly underestimated high school attendance in the United States.

In regard to U.S. college attendance 26% in West Germany (29% in West Berlin) were too low in their approximation as against 15% in West Germany and 33% in West Berlin giving too high an estimate.

"In your estimation, approximately how high is the percentage of the overall population of the U.S. which attended senior high school, and college?" (CARD)

		Senior High School		College		
		West Germany	West Berlin		West Germany	West Berlin
1 - 2%		1%	-%		4%	1%
2 - 5%		2	2	Too low	8 (26%)	10 (29%)
6 - 10%		8	5		14	18
11 - 20%	Too low	12 (44%)	13 (57%)	Correct =	13	18
21 - 30%		13	20		8	15
31 - 40%		8	17		4	7
41 - 50%	Correct =	5	12	Too high	2 (15%)	6 (33%)
More than 50%	Too high	4	16		1	5
No opinion		47	15		46	20
		100%	100%		100%	100%

GERMAN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OVERESTIMATED ...

The same question was asked in regard to Germany. The findings clearly reveal that while the respondents underestimated the American educational level they also clearly overestimated the German educational level.

The exact figures for Germany are 18% of the population having ever attended high school and 2% having ever gone to college (universities).

Within the West German and West Berlin samples 20% in each correctly estimated the facts in regard to high school training. While 19% in West Germany were too low in their estimate, 31% were to high on high school attendance. In West Berlin 13% underestimated and 56% overestimated the percentage in Germany with high school training.

As to college and university training only 8% (4% in Berlin) gave correct approximations and 60% (84% in Berlin) were too high.

"And how about Germany, how many people over here do you estimate attended senior high school, and college?" (CARD)

		Senior High School			College		
		West Germany	West Berlin		West Germany	West Berlin	
1 - 2%		1%	-%				
3 - 5%	Too low	6	4				
6 - 10%		12	9				
11 - 20%	Correct =	20	20	Correct =	8%	4%	
21 - 30%		16	20		17	13	
31 - 40%		8	15		18	24	
41 - 50%	Too high	4	9		14	23	
More than 50%		3	12	Too High	5	13	
No opinion		30	11		3	5	
					2	4	
					1	2	
		100%	100%		32	12	
					100%	100%	

ORGANIZATIONAL SETUP AND SCHOOL SPIRIT MAIN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AMERICAN AND GERMAN SCHOOL SYSTEM ...

Asked in a free answer situation, in which respects the American and the German school systems differ, the replies focused on (a) the organizational setup and (b) the general school spirit such as freedom, broadmindedness and friendly informality in teacher-student relations.

"From all you have heard or read about it: In which respects do the American and the German school systems differ?"

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
ORGANIZATIONAL SETUP	(13%)	(28%)
In respect to the system of education	7%	15%
In respect to educational opportunities	3	3
In respect to operational funds	2	6
In respect to facilities and equipment	1	4
SCHOOL SPIRIT	(12%)	(26%)
In respect to freedom, broadmindedness, and informality	11	21
In respect to teacher/student relations	1	5
CURRICULUM AND EDUCATIONAL METHODS	(5%)	(17%)
In respect to emphasis put on the problems of practical life	3	8
In respect to educational methods	1	7
In respect to emphasis put on sports	1	2
MISCELLANEOUS	(8%)	(12%)
The German school system is better	4	4
The American school system is better	2	5
Other answers	2	3
NO DIFFERENCE	(3%)	(7%)
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(64%)	(36%)
	105%@	126%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AMERICAN SCHOOL SYSTEM COMPARES FAVORABLY WITH GERMAN SYSTEM ...

Though the majority of the population (but only 28% in West Berlin) feels unable to judge the American educational system in comparison to the German one the general tendency is to favor the U.S. system. More than twice as many of the West German people say the U.S. school system compares favorably with the German system than hold the opinion that it compares unfavorably. This ratio is four to one in West Berlin.

"Do you feel that the American school system compares favorably or unfavorably with the German system?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Compares favorably	21%	40%
Compares unfavorably	9	9
Neither/nor	17	23
No opinion	53	28
	100%	100%

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL SYSTEM SEEN PROVIDING MORE PREPARATION FOR PRACTICAL LIFE - GERMAN SYSTEM SEEN PUTTING EMPHASIS ON HIGH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ...

While about half of the West Germans feel that the American school system aims more at preparing students for practical life, a preponderant group thinks the German system aims more at attaining a high educational level for the students. This opinion is even more explicit in West Berlin, where clear majorities (69% and 52%) can be found supporting this view.

"As far as you know, does the American school system aim more at attaining a high educational level for the students, or more at preparing them for practical life? And how is it in Germany?"

	In America		In Germany	
	West Germany	West Berlin	West Germany	West Berlin
More emphasis on high educational level	15%	19%	45%	52%
More emphasis on practical life	49	69	27	41
No opinion	36	12	28	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%

PREPARATION FOR PRACTICAL LIFE PREFERRED AS EDUCATIONAL GOAL ...

When people where asked what they considered preferable - to give students a high level of education or to prepare them for practical life - almost three quarters chose the latter.

"And what do you consider preferable: To give students a high level of education or to prepare them for practical life?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
High educational level	14%	20%
Preparation for practical life	71	73
No opinion	15	7
	100%	100%

Since people overwhelmingly indicated their support for more emphasis on training for practical life in the school system, the findings represent one of the most favorable judgments about the American school system.

Section 2: The Negro problem

Apart from the question whether or not the racial problem is a dilemma in the American society, one often wonders how other nations in the world look upon this issue in the United States.

To obtain some information in this regard inquiries were directed at ascertaining to what extent people in Germany are aware of the Negro problem in the United States, what they understand by it, and whether they think there is a favorable trend toward acceptable solutions or not. In other words is the American Negro question a crucial problem for American prestige in Germany?

HIGH AWARENESS OF THE U.S. NEGRO PROBLEM ...

The great majority of the West German population (62%) and most of the West Berliners (84%) indicated awareness of the Negro problem in the United States. This includes knowledge of the frictions between white and colored segments of the population, of discrimination against the Negroes, of general racial segregation and of the particular problem in the South as well as some details in regard to admission of Negroes to schools and universities.

"What does one understand by the racial question in the U.S.? Can you explain this in some detail?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Aware of Negro problem	62%	84%
Aware of colored people problem generally	10	4
Unaware of racial questions in the United States	2	5
No opinion	26	7
	100%+	100%+

COMMENTS IN DETAIL ...

"What does one understand by the racial question in the U.S.? Can you explain this in some detail?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
THE NEGRO PROBLEM	(62%)	(84%)
The Negro problem (general answers):	31%	31%

"The question how to integrate whites and Negroes in a community."
"The clear delimitation of rights of the white and colored population."
"I would say that the racial question in the U.S. has something to do with the treatment of the Negroes."
"Integration of the white population and the Negroes."
"The relations between the white and the colored population."

+ Edited tabulation calculated on the basis of people rather than responses.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	West Germany	West Berlin
Discrimination against the Negroes:	17%	29%
"The conviction of white Americans that Negroes are second-class people."		
"Dealing with the racial problem, white Americans show a certain race consciousness."		
"Whites don't regard Negroes as equals. Negroes are subject to the draft, it is true, but generally they don't enjoy many rights."		
"In some states of America, Negroes are outcasts, Negroes are considered inferior people."		
"That the Negroes in America are still treated like slaves."		
Friction between white and colored segments of the population:	6	6
"Whites and blacks are not on good terms in the States."		
"The antagonism between whites and Negroes."		
"The colored and the white population in the U.S. are usually entangled in some quarreling."		
Racial segregation (general answers):	5	7
"They can't come to an agreement on the question of whether or not Negroes and whites are to live in separate communities."		
"The segregation of the black and white race."		
"Keeping black elements away from the white population through segregation."		
"The problems that arise from the living together of black and white people."		
The Negro problem in the South:	2	6
"The Negro problem. The difficult integration of the Negroes in the Southern states."		
"The whites, especially in the South, don't recognize the Negroes as human beings."		
"The Negro question in the South."		
Admission of Negroes to all schools and universities:	1	5
"I remember an event when a Negress showed up at an American university, but was thrown out by her white fellow-students."		
"Not all universities are open for Negroes. There are laws meant for the protection of Negroes, but they are fiercely disputed in some states."		
THE PROBLEM OF COLORED PEOPLE (EXCLUDING NEGROES)	(5%)	(6%)
The problem of the colored people, discrimination against non-Caucasians:	4	5
"The living together of whites and people of other races."		
"Segregation of whites and non-Caucasians."		
"That those who belong to some other race than the white are considered inferior people."		
"The disadvantageous position of non-white people in public life."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	West Germany	West Berlin
The Red Indian problem:	1%	1%
"The Americans suppress the Red Indians." "The problem of the American Indians."		
MISCELLANEOUS	(8%)	(9%)
The racial problem in general:	5%	4%
"That the different races shouldn't mix but keep apart." "There are so many races in America, you can't distinguish them." "The racial problem isn't settled yet in the States, the different races should enjoy the same rights."		
Other answers:	3	5
"The status of the Jews." "Immigrants aren't considered genuine Americans even after they have been American citizens for years." "The suppression of the Asians by white Americans."		
THERE IS NO RACIAL QUESTION	(2%)	(5%)
"I think there is no racial discrimination in the U.S." "I believe that things have improved in this field, take, for instance, the fact that Negroes may serve in the army." "In the U.S. all citizens enjoy equal rights."		
NO OPINION	(26%)	(7)
	103%@	111, 0

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONE OUT OF TWO CONSIDERS U.S. RACIAL QUESTION A SERIOUS PROBLEM ...

While a majority in West Berlin considers the U.S. racial question to be a difficult problem, just under half of the West Germans express serious concern about it.

"Do you consider the racial question in the U.S. to be a difficult problem, or don't you?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
Difficult problem	45%	53%
Not so difficult a problem	26	40
No opinion	29	7
	100%	100%

HOWEVER, MAJORITIES DO NOT FEEL THAT IT SERIOUSLY HARMS AMERICAN PRESTIGE ...

When people were asked whether in their eyes the Negro problem damages the prestige of the United States, only about a fifth replied it does so "very much" or "enormously." Another 17% (18% in West Berlin) said it only "somewhat" harms American prestige.

The great majority answered "very little," "not at all" or had "no opinion." Among them a full third in West Germany and about one half of those in West Berlin stated that the Negro problem does not damage the U.S. prestige in Germany "at all."

Though most of the figures in West Germany and West Berlin are amazingly identical on this question, there is, however, an essential difference between the West German and West Berlin results in that five times as many people in West Germany than in West Berlin answered "no opinion." "No opinion" replies are considered replies indicating the issue is not important enough to such individuals and hence to damage U.S. prestige, the pattern for West Germany and West Berlin is the same.

"Does the Negro problem in your eyes damage the prestige of the U.S., or does it not? (Does it damage American prestige enormously, very much, somewhat, or only very little?)"

	West Germany		West Berlin	
Enormously	7%		8%	
Very much	12	36%	12	38%
Somewhat	17		18	
Very little	4		5	
Not at all	33		52	
No opinion	27		5	
	100%		100%	

REASONS WHY NEGRO PROBLEM HARMS AMERICAN PRESTIGE IN GERMAN EYES ...

Leading among the various reasons given is the view that the treatment of Negroes in the States violates humane and democratic principles.

"Does the Negro problem in your eyes damage the prestige of the U.S., or does it not? (Does it damage American prestige enormously, very much, somewhat, or only very little?)"

IF "Enormously," "Very much," "Somewhat" or "Very little":
"In what way does it serve to damage American prestige?"

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
SERIOUS DAMAGE DONE TO AMERICAN PRESTIGE	(36%)	(44%)
Because the treatment Negroes get in the States is not in accordance with humane and democratic principles	26%	32%
Because a country like the U.S. should have settled this problem long ago	4	2
Because Negroes do not have the same educational opportunities as white people	1	3
Because equal rights are denied to Negroes although they suffered the same hardships as the white soldiers during the war	1	3
Because America now employe the same racial policies they condemned us for (Jewish problem)	1	3
Because racial dsicrimination is exploited for its propaganda value, especially by the Eastern countries	1	1
Other answers to prove the damage done to American prestige	2	*
NO (OR ONLY LITTLE) DAMAGE DONE TO AMERICAN PRESTIGE	(2%)	(2%)
Because racial segregation is necessary to ensure the purity of the white race	1%	*%
Because the importance of the Negro problem is exaggerated	*	1
Other answers why there is no (or only little) damage done to American prestige	1	1
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(3%) 41%@	(1%) 47%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PREPONDERANCE BELIEVES U.S. GOVERNMENT MAKES SERIOUS EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM ...

In the following question the respondents were given a card with diverse views on the Negro situation describing the attitude of the American government towards the problem and then asked which view came closest to their own opinion.

Over four-tenths (41% in West Germany and 68% in West Berlin) picked point "A" or "B" indicating a favorable view of the efforts of the U.S. government to solve the problem. A minority of only 29% (26% in West Berlin) thinks the government is not doing enough or doing nothing at all for the advancement of Negroes.

There is, however, a second aspect involved in the views presented by this question, namely what success is the government achieving in trying to solve the problem. In this respect the majority (59% and 66%) shows substantial pessimism by feeling that only little or no essential progress in solving the Negro problem has been made. Only 11% of the West German and 28% of the West Berlin sample believe that the efforts have been successful.

"One keeps hearing the most diverse views on the Negro problem. We would like to know which of these sentences, in your opinion, most accurately describes the attitude of the American government towards the Negro problem." (CARD)

	West Germany	West Berlin
A - The American government does everything imaginable for the Negroes, and is very successful in doing so	11%	28%
B - The government tries very hard, but has little success	30 — 41%	40 — 68%
C - The government does not do enough to insure substantial progress in solving the Negro problem	59% 22	66% 24
D - The government does nothing for the advancement of Negroes	7 — 29%	2 — 26%
No opinion	30	6
	100%	100%

Section 3: Acceptability of Common Criticisms of Americans

Whenever one nation views another, certain existing stereotypes are involved in the judgment. It was therefore deemed appropriate to design a question for testing the acceptability of certain common criticisms of Americans which often appear as stereotypes describing the national character. These criticisms are by no means complete, but they are felt to be typical of those most frequently brought up at the present time.

ONLY THREE OUT OF NINE CRITICISMS RECEIVE MAJORITY SUPPORT ...

Nine statements were listed on a card given to the respondents and introduced as unfavorable remarks which are occasionally heard about America and the Americans. People were then asked, for each of the statements, whether they agree fully or mostly with it or only a little or not at all.

Taking the view that full, most and little agreement revealed an inclination to be critical, there are only three criticisms receiving majority support from the people. These are (a) "the Americans keep meddling in other countries' affairs", (b) "the Americans are greedy for money and gain", and (c) "the Americans are undisciplined, loud and rude". It should be pointed out, however, that most of the acceptance is expressed in term of only "a little" agreement with these statements.

The severe statements to the effect that "the Americans are deceitful and sly" and "the Americans are hypocritical" are accepted by only negligible minorities of 13% and 9% respectively.

Common stereotypes that Americans are "traditionless and culturally backward" as well as "the Americans are good church-goers, but without true religious feelings" are also only supported by minorities. In these cases less than one fourth of the population (24% and 23% respectively) agree to any extent with the statements.

In West Berlin the pattern of response is about the same as in West Germany, only the Berliners seem to give less support to the various criticisms than the West Germans do.

"Occasionally one hears unfavorable remarks about America and the Americans. (CARD) We have listed some of them here and would like to know with which of these remarks you agree fully, with which you agree mostly and with which you agree only a little or not at all."

West Germany

	Fully	Mostly	A little	Not at all	No opinion
A - The Americans are presumptuous and conceited	4%	9%	23%	43%	21%..100%
B - The Americans are greedy for money and gain	7	20	30	22	21
C - The Americans are a tradition-less nation and culturally backward	2	6	16	47	29
D - The Americans are inconsiderate, domineering and egotistical	4	9	19	43	25
E - The Americans are deceitful and sly	1	3	9	57	30
F - The Americans are undisciplined, loud and rude	7	15	33	24	21
G - The Americans are hypocritical	*	2	7	54	37
H - The Americans keep meddling in other countries' affairs	13	23	24	15	25
I - The Americans may indeed go to church often, but they are without religious feeling	4	7	12	30	47

West Berlin

	Fully	Mostly	A little	Not at all	No opinion
A - The Americans are presumptuous and conceited	3%	6%	26%	58%	7%..100%
B - The Americans are greedy for money and gain	7	15	25	44	9
C - The Americans are a tradition-less and culturally backward	2	3	17	70	8
D - The Americans are inconsiderate, domineering and egotistical	2	7	19	64	8
E - The Americans are deceitful and sly	-	2	4	83	11
F - The Americans are undisciplined, loud and rude	6	15	35	38	6
G - The Americans are hypocritical	-	*	7	78	15
H - The Americans keep meddling in other countries' affairs	10	21	27	29	13
I - The Americans may indeed go to church often, but they are without religious feeling	2	8	9	52	29

* Less than one half of one per cent.

III. Common Aims in the Spheres of Politics, Culture, Economy, and Personal Life

In the German perspective of America the question of common aims and points of contact becomes most relevant. A number of queries, therefore, were designed to explore German thinking in this respect.

MOST COMMON AIMS SEEN IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS ...

When respondents were asked whether or not Germany and America had any points of contact or common aims in the different areas of life, clear majorities replied in the affirmative in regard to politics and to economics (60% and 56% respectively). A preponderance (41%) saw common traits of character in the personal sphere. The cultural sector seems to receive the least emphasis and occupies last place with only 35% thinking of common aims in this respect.

In West Berlin people seem to be considerably more aware of points of contact and common aims between Germany and America. In all areas of life approached in the question the great majority of respondents were able to think of common goals. Again the fields of politics and economics occupy leading positions with 80% or more giving affirmative replies. The cultural sector took third place and the personal sphere last.

"In your opinion, do Germany and America have any points of contact and common aims in the different areas of life? Is there anything the two countries have in common?"

	West Germany (1210)	West Berlin (306)
In the field of politics		
Yes, of what are you thinking? ...	60%	81%
No	10	7
No opinion	30	12
	100%	100%
In the cultural sector		
Yes, of what are you thinking? ...	35%	71%
No	22	11
No opinion	43	18
	100%	100%
In the economic area		
Yes, of what are you thinking? ...	56%	80%
No	11	7
No opinion	33	13
	100%	100%
In the personal sphere. Are there any common traits of character?		
Yes, of what are you thinking? ...	41%	68%
No	16	12
No opinion	43	20
	100%	100%

COMMON AIMS IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS ...

Those who reported that the two countries (America and Germany) have things in common were asked of what specific things they were thinking. In respect to politics, the Western policy (i.e. the common fight against Communism, NATO partnership and efforts toward European integration) leads. Next, but some distance behind, came the democratic set-up which both countries have in common. In third place, and very close to second, comes the "Germany policy". Important issues like re-unification and German rearmament are brought up as common purposes of both countries.

"In your opinion, do Germany and America have any points of contact and common aims in the different areas of life? Is there anything the two countries have in common?" In the field of politics.

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
THE WESTERN POLICY	(26%)	(38%)
The fight against Communism	18%	26
NATO	5	7
The unification of Europe	2	4
Other answers	1	1
THE DEMOCRATIC SET-UP	(13%)	(23%)
The democratic governmental system and way of living	12	19
The working procedure in government and parliament	1	2
Other answers	*	2
THE GERMANY-POLICY	(12%)	(16%)
Reunification of Germany	6	12
Rearmament of Germany	5	3
Germany's dependence upon America	1	1
American Forces in Germany	*	-
WORLD POLICY	(7%)	(17%)
Common efforts to preserve world peace	6	13
The disarmament question	-	3
Other answers	1	1
OTHER, GENERAL POINTS OF CONTACT	(4%)	(2%)
The constructive cooperation between America and Germany	1	1
Other answers	3	1
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(3%)	(3%)
	65%	99%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

COMMON AIMS AND POINTS OF CONTACT IN THE CULTURAL SECTOR ...

In the cultural sector the most frequent replies focus on culture and arts in general. Under this general heading the following have been included: common appreciation of classical and modern music; exchange of films and German-American co-productions; mutual translation of German and American authors, as well as the mutual exchange of artists and theater ensembles.

"In your opinion, do Germany and America have any points of contact and common aims in the different areas of life? Is there anything the two countries have in common?" In the cultural sector.

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
CULTURE AND ARTS	(29%)	(68%)
Music	9%	15
Film	8	14
Literature	3	7
Culture and arts (general answers)	3	6
Exchange of artists	2	12
Theater	2	7
Cultural institutions	1	5
Architecture, painting	1	2
SCIENCE AND RESEARCH	(5%)	(12%)
Science and research (general answers)	2	7
Education	2	3
Nuclear research	1	2
OTHER FIELDS	(10%)	(15%)
Exchange-of-persons program	4	7
Press, radio and television	2	1
Other answers	4	7
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(3%)	(8%)
	47%©	103%©

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMON AIMS AND POINTS OF CONTACT IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR ...

In the economic area the most common reply (30% in West Germany, 39% in West Berlin) concerned commercial trade such as exchange of goods, common markets, etc. Economic principles such as free enterprise, free market economy, freedom of opportunity, standardization and industrialization were the second most frequent reply.

"In your opinion, do Germany and America have any points of contact and common aims in the different areas of life? Is there anything the two have in common?" In the economic sector.

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
TRADE AND PRODUCTION	(43%)	(59%)
Commerce (exchange of goods, common markets, etc.)	30%	39%
Economic principles	11	17
Agriculture and agricultural products	1	2
Mineral resources and industrial products	1	1
FORMS OF ECONOMIC AID	(8%)	(22%)
American economic aid	5	11
Improving standard of living, working conditions	3	11
OTHER FIELDS	(7%)	(13%)
Research goals	2	8
Rearmament	1	1
Other answers	4	4
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(3%)	(4%)
	61%	98%

COMMON AIMS AND POINTS OF CONTACT IN THE PERSONAL SPHERE ...

In regard to the personal sphere many character traits common to Germans and Americans were seen, for example readiness to help others, humaneness, justness, diligence, proficiency, and love of peace, etc. are reported as common to both Germans and Americans. Kinship between Americans and Germans is also mentioned frequently.

> "In your opinion, do Germany and America have any points of contact and common aims in the different areas of life? Is there anything the two countries have in common?" In the personal sphere? Are there any common traits of character?

Summary Table

	West Germany	West Berlin
TRAITS OF CHARACTER COMMON TO GERMANS AND AMERICANS	(18%)	(38%)
Readiness to help others, humaneness, justice	6%	13%
Diligence, proficiency	4	10
General answers	4	7
Love of peace	1	4
Progressiveness, positive attitude toward life	1	*
Other answers	2	4
HUMAN RELATIONS AND LINKS	(13%)	(23%)
Kinship between Germans and Americans	9	16
Friendly relations between Americans and Germans	2	3
Contacts with tourists and occupation forces	1	2
Exchange of pupils and students	1	2
OTHER COMMON TRAITS AND POINTS OF CONTACT	(10%)	(24%)
Religious life	3	5
Sports	2	9
American aid program for Germany	2	5
Way of life	1	2
Other answers	2	3
NO OPINION/NO ANSWER	(5%)	(4%)
	46%C	89%C

C Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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